CAMPAIGN AGAINST
carf
RACISM & FASCISM

No 37 April / May 1997 80p

CARF 20 YEARS 1977–1997

NEW LABOURVATIVE

PRISON WORKS
LAW AND ORDER
YOUTH CURFEWS
ZERO TOLERANCE
MAKE BRITAIN SAFE AGAIN

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CAMPAIGN AGAINST RACISM & FASCISM

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EDITORIAL

Strange how themes recur. Soon after CARF was formed twenty years ago, Thatcher defeated the Labour party to come to power, and we were warning that the Tories were stealing the clothes of the National Front. Now, on the eve of yet another general election, the Labour party is stealing the law-and-order programme of the Tories.

A whole plethora of legislation will probably go through the next parliament, irrespective of which party is elected on 1 May. What the Knives Bill, the Protection from Harassment Bill, the Police Bill, the Jurisdiction (Conspiracy and Incitement Bill), the Crime (Sentencing) Bill have in common is a complete disregard for civil liberties. Politicians are hell bent on rushing society down the path of righteous vengeance, and retribution is the motive force for criminal justice policy. If Labour is elected, it may, with a nod to the civil libertarians in its own ranks, remove a clause here and a clause there from contentious legislation, but it is just as committed to protecting the haves from the have-nots, however many people have to be locked up to do it, and returning us to the worst days of 'sus' policing.

This time round, the election law-and-order programme is not explicitly racist. It doesn't have to be. The racism ingrained in every aspect of policing and criminal justice ensures that it is black people who bear the brunt of the new repression.

Anti-racists be warned. If we are stop the juggernaut, lobbying is not the answer. We need to build a strong movement outside parliament so Labour cannot acquiesce in, or help to build, the most right-wing law and order programme in living memory. ■

Online against racism

CARF is now available on the internet. If you're lucky enough to have access to the world wide web you can access the CARF website at:

http://www. carf. demon. co. uk/

You'll find a selection of feature articles from the current and back issues, as well as news on campaigns. You can also contact us by e-mail:

info@carf. demon. co. uk

The ballad of the 'sans papiers'

In August 1996, 1,500 French riot police broke up the St Bernard's hunger strike in northern Paris. But the struggles of the sans papiers continue, finding an echo across Europe.

According to the National Coordination of Sans Papiers, the movement of undocumented workers, 'This struggle is becoming a central issue in French politics and life.' Thousands of sans papiers from 40 different countries have joined the movement with protests in Lille, Versailles, Toulouse, Essone, Brittany and Nantes. Twenty-four collectives have formed across France, the most prominent being the Paris-based Third Collective, which embraces 30 nationalities. The sans papiers are the subject of an exciting new documentary, have their own web page on the Internet (translated into many languages, including English), a 24-hour telephone information line, and are planning a European-wide meeting for June.

Inspiration

In February, intellectuals, film and theatre directors, writers, journalists, lawyers, actors, comedians, singers, statisticians, scientists and cartoonists signed a series of pledges in national newspapers promising to ignore a controversial clause in new immigration legislation (the Debré laws) which would have forced people to report the departure of 'certain foreigners' (mostly from the Third World, who require a visa to enter France) to their local town hall. But even as the civil disobedience campaign staged an impressive 150,000-strong demonstration in Paris, forcing the government to withdraw its controversial clause, there was a strong feeling among campaigners that a galvanised anti-racist movement now needs to channel its energies back into the everyday campaigns of the sans papiers, for residence permits, dignity and basic human rights.

For it was the sans papiers' fifty-day hunger strike at St Bernard's that pricked the consciences of intellectuals and celebrities and inspired action. Famous personalities were photographed alongside the hunger strikers; intellectuals joined the picket lines. Actress Emmanuelle Béart and theatre director Ariane Mnouchkine were allocated a hunger striker to whom they would be handcuffed in the event of another police incursion. When the late president's widow Danielle Mitterand visited, photographers trampled over the weakened bodies of the hunger-strikers in an effort to get a photo.

Paul Freeley

Harsh reality

Once the police broke up the strike, cutting through iron gates and hacking down doors, those not deported or detained were forced back into a clandestine existence. Long-established anti-racist groups complain of the arbitrary way in which their cases have been decided. Administrative incompetence is widespread. Families have been split up and asylum claims treated as residence claims.

While deportations (many on specially chartered flights) are an everyday reality, living a clandestine existence continues to get ever harsher. Three out of every five Chinese living in Paris are illegals, working under cover of false documents and treated like slaves. It was the Chinese who were central to another sans papiers Paris occupation, at St John the Baptist. Two hundred immigrants demanding residence permits and a halt to deportations, were evicted by 500 riot police in February. But this police brutality hardly merited a footnote in the international press, which seemed transfixed by the '60s-style battle between intellectuals and the state playing itself out on Parisian streets.

Solidarity, commitment

The sans papiers' struggles serve as an inspiration for other movements across Europe. When 60 immigrants occupied Milan's San Barnardino church, the newspapers imported the term 'sans papiers' to describe their actions. In the Netherlands, Iranians and Sri Lankan Tamils have been at the forefront of hunger strikes in detention centres against appalling conditions and the threat of deportation. In the UK, at the detention centre in Haslar, Hampshire, a collective of 90 detainees (out of a total of 130) have issued a statement protesting at conditions there and the fear of deportation. 'We are not looking for special favourable or privileged treatment,' they write, 'but only the rights which the conventions require...We are now in such a state of psychological and physical saturation, seeing not the slightest glimmer of hope for the future, that we must now take action in such a way that everyone will come to know the injustices we are suffering...'

The National Coordination of Sans Papiers sees the only way forward in 'international solidarity and contact with other groups and movements across the world. Immigrants in many European countries...can all benefit from sharing information and support. They also need the active support of organisations, groups and individuals who are willing to show their commitment to freedom.'

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22, rue Pajol, 75018 Paris, France.
Fax: 00 331 46 07 16 19. Web site: http://bok.net/pajol
Telephone information (in French): 01 36 68 73 93
La ballade des sans papiers available from Agence Im'média (contact CARF for details).

Law, order and

On the streets, in their homes and meeting-places, in the police station, in court and in prison, the criminal justice system bears down heavily on black communities. And the competition between the Tories and Labour to see who is toughest on crime makes for an even heavier burden.

On the street

Police stop and search powers have been described by a senior policeman as 'a contact sport for officers'. They have featured centrally in complaints of police racism. It was a vast stop and search operation, Operation Swamp '81, which sparked the Brixton uprising of that year. Even the City of London 'ring of plastic' stop and search anti-terrorist operation in the wake of the 1993 Bishopsgate bomb netted a disproportionate number of black 'IRA suspects'. This year, Tottenham MP Bernie Grant condemned the abuse of civil rights after figures disclosed that 45 per cent of those stopped in his division were black, while black people comprised only 25 per cent of the population. A recent study by NACRO and the Haringey Police Consultative Committee found that, when police in Tottenham halved their stop and search operations, the clear-up rate for crime remained the same. Stop and search is a blunt policing instrument, the use of which inevitably leads to harassment.

The return of 'sus'

This did not stop Labour capitalising on public sympathy for the widow of headmaster Philip Lawrence, after his fatal stabbing by a teenager, to introduce a private member's bill, the Knives Bill, which gives senior police unlimited powers to order 24-hour stop and search operations in any area where they 'reasonably believe' people are carrying knives. Police in the east end of London invariably stopped and searched Asian youths for weapons of self-defence in the aftermath of racist attacks in Bethnal Green or Brick Lane in the 1970s; the Knives Bill institutionalises and legitimises this and in the hands of racist police, turns legitimate self-defence into gang warfare.

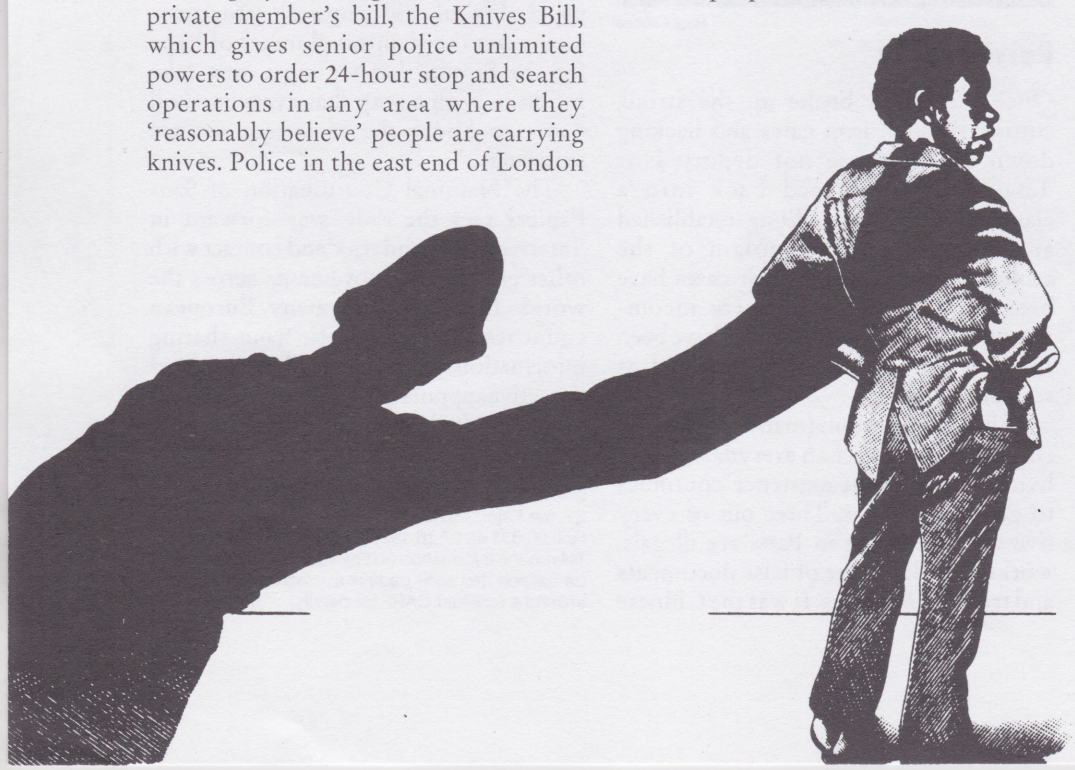
Another measure which could lead to more harassment of black people on the streets is the Protection from Harassment Bill, promised Tony Blair's personal support. Designed to protect women whose ex-partners make their lives a misery by pursuing them after the relationship ends, the Bill creates a legal precedent in deeming the motivation of the 'harasser' irrelevant. Someone who causes harassment or distress to the same person twice, by actions which may include phoning, speaking or sending unwanted gifts, can be sent to prison for six months, even if they had no intention of causing distress. If they cause someone to fear for their personal safety, the person 'harassed' can get an injunction, breach of which can lead to up to five years imprisonment, once again regardless of the actual intention of the 'harasser'. This concentration on the subjective feeling of the 'harassed' person creates the danger for black people of a return to 'sus', and the arrest-to-order of black people deemed to be making a nuisance of themselves.

The abolition of the infamous 'sus' law in 1981 was the result of sustained campaigning by black communities against the criminalisation of black youths who were waiting at bus stops, standing around or just walking in the street. Now, the danger of a revival of 'sus' comes from the politicians' desire to get youths off the streets regardless of criminal intent. Jack Straw's memorable attacks on 'aggressive beggars and squeegee merchants' were followed by Blair's endorsement of 'zero tolerance' policing (which criminalises behaviour such as painting graffiti and dropping litter), which was in turn followed by Straw's proposal to curfew young people off the streets. Between them, the main parties propose curfews and parental supervision orders which will make parents pay (in fines, electronic tagging and driving bans) for their children's good behaviour.

The attack on youth culminates, for Labour, in Jack Straw's proposal to reduce the age of criminal responsibility to make 10-year-old children as criminally culpable for their actions as adults.

Surveillance

With CCTV now part of the furniture in most town centres and other public places such as railway stations and sports stadia, those who 'come to the attention of the police' can have their every move scrutinised. And racist police will automatically have their eye on black youth. The Police Bill takes this targeting further. It will allow police to break into homes, meeting places, journalists' and lawyers' offices and doctors' surgeries to plant listening devices, to search for and copy documents and other material clandestinely, with approval from a serving or retired judge, if a senior officer believes it would be useful to prevent or detect 'serious crime'. The phrase covers anything from murder to criminal conspiracy to serious public order offences, drugs and illegal immigration. Chief constables' rationale for refusing to exclude solicitors' offices was



the politics of convergence

that if they were excluded, criminals would all go there to plan their crimes. They added that they would bug any meeting where they thought a riot was being planned; this would presumably mean the automatic bugging of any black defence campaign meeting after (for example) a death in police custody, and the bugging of community activists' homes on a regular basis.

Other, more obviously political surveillance will be carried out on refugees under the Police Bill provisions allowing the National Criminal Intelligence Service (NCIS) to conduct surveillance for any law enforcement agency in the world. The Turkish police have used the Danish police to collect information on Turkish dissidents in Denmark; this law will allow them, and other repressive regimes, to use British police in the same way. Another private member's bill, the Jurisdiction (Conspiracy and Incitement) Bill, was designed to criminalise foreign dissidents like Mohamed al-Masari and Karamjit Chahal living in Britain, by making it an offence to plan, incite or conspire in Britain to commit an offence anywhere in the world. The Bill, which would have criminalised people such as Nelson Mandela, was supported by both main parties but was defeated when, with very few members of either party in the House of Commons, left-wing MPs forced a vote. It is expected to be reintroduced.

More criminals

Recent legislation such as the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1995 and the 1996 Asylum and Immigration Bill has created new categories of criminal. Ravers, squatters and participants in 'trespassatory assemblies' were all criminalised by the 1995 Act, while the 1996 Act criminalises people who help illegal immigrants and asylum-seekers, and those who employ immigrants who don't have permission to work in Britain. The Act also forces a whole new class of people into a choice between destitution and hunger or crime, since rejected asylum-seekers and those claiming asylum after their arrival are no longer eligible for any benefits, and can only get a roof and a meal, but no money for fares or anything else, from local authorities.

Of course, the purpose of the fines on employers is not to criminalise them but to persuade them to inform on immigrant job-seekers who don't have permission to work. Joint operations between police, immigration officers and benefits staff are now common, and information exchange routine. Meanwhile, a series of poster campaigns exhorts us all as good citizens to spy on our neighbours and report them if they're benefit cheats, or drug dealers, or child abusers, or 'rats', or whatever.

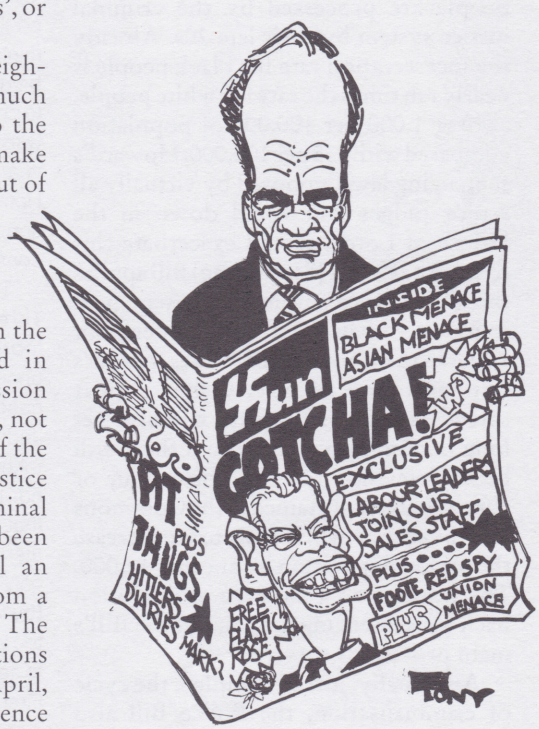
Labour would also have us get neighbours sent to prison for making too much noise, giving another green light to the housing-estate Alf Garnetts who make spurious complaints of rowdiness out of spite.

The criminal process

Despite claims to the contrary when the Bridgewater Three were released in February, false confessions, oppression and miscarriages of justice are more, not less likely now. Since the abolition of the right to silence by the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1995, criminal suspects held in police stations have been under more pressure, as at trial an inference of guilt can be drawn from a failure to answer police questions. The Criminal Procedure and Investigations Act, which came into force on 1 April, allows prosecutors to withhold evidence they say is irrelevant while at the same time forcing a criminal accused to disclose his or her defence.

DNA evidence has been found to be seriously unreliable in certain cases involving black accused. But forensic evidence, whether DNA or fingerprints, has a mystique born of science which results in high conviction rates. Far from acknowledging this and improving reliability, fingerprint matching criteria are to be reduced, making the chances of false matching higher. Proposals to computerise facial recognition techniques (matching video images with photographs already on police files) adds the spurious authenticity of technology to fuzzy-image identification, resulting in more mistaken-identity miscarriage of justice cases, not less. The combined effect of less accurate, but increasingly relied-on technical evidence, the abolition of the right to silence and the uneven duties of disclosure on defence and prosecution make more wrongful convictions a certainty.

The chances of an acquittal for black suspects are far below those for white suspects, but are nevertheless far higher when they go for jury trial than when they are tried by magistrates in summary trial. This is so despite the fact that since 1989 there has been no jury challenging



and no possibility of obtaining a racially balanced jury (except by chance). But now, Michael Howard has revived the discredited proposal of the Royal Commission on Criminal Justice to remove the right of defendants to elect jury trial for a wide range of offences, including theft, burglary, moderately serious assaults, possession of drugs and low-value criminal damage. As the chairman of the Bar Council said in 1993, when the proposal was mooted by the RCCJ, if magistrates have the power to order summary trial, 'unequal treatment of defendants' will result, 'favouring those whom society views as more respectable than others'. In other words, magistrates would allow white middle-class defendants to have a jury trial for a minor theft, but not a black unemployed defendant. ☞

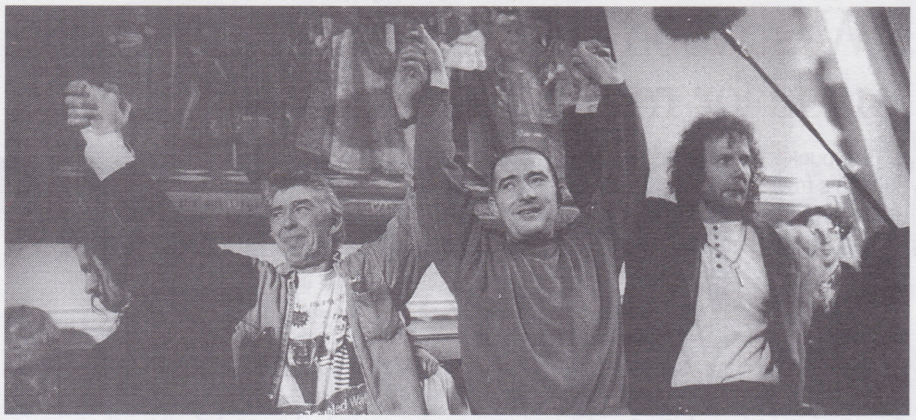
To prison – and beyond

The short-lived 'prison doesn't work' policy, introduced in 1991 to replace prison with community service, was rapidly reversed by Michael Howard, who has presided over a dramatic increase of the prison population in the name of retributive justice. Rehabilitation is out, 'lock em up and throw away the key' is in. The prison population has expanded from about 48,000 to 60,000 in ten years; prisons are full to bursting, police stations are used for the overspill and ex-air force camps and holiday camps are being pressed into service as prisons and a prison ship has been bought by the Home Office from the USA.

The class-race divide in Britain already ensures that one-third of all young black people are processed by the criminal justice system by their late 20s. Already the incarceration rate for black people is nearly ten times the rate for white people, at over 1,000 per 100,000 of population compared with 135 per 100,000. Howard's sentencing laws, opposed by virtually all senior judges and voted down in the House of Lords, would exacerbate this trend. The Crime (Sentencing) Bill applies the US recipe of automatic life sentences to repeat violence and sex offenders, but while in the US it's three strikes, here it's two and you're out. Other repeat offenders such as burglars will also get long minimum sentences, and there will be no remission for good behaviour or parole. Labour abstained in the Commons on a measure which is expected to increase the prison population by another 12,000. The Lords won a measure of discretion back for sentencing judges, but the Bill's main provisions survived.

And finally, just to complete the cycle of criminalisation, the Police Bill also contains provisions for vetting up to eight million job seekers, a move which Harry Fletcher, head of the National Association of Probation Officers (NAPO), says will ensure that most ex-offenders never work again when they come out of prison and will thus be tempted into a life of crime and punishment.

The model of criminal justice put forward by both main parties is retributive, and is based on an exclusive vision of society. They, the outsiders, commit crime; we, the insiders, must be protected from it, by ever more punitive measures. In a racist and class-ridden society, the outsiders are the poor and the black. The policies entrench division and exclusion and unless speedily reversed, will condemn another generation of black youth, as well as new target groups such as asylum-seekers and foreign dissidents. ■



David Rose

Lies, lies and videotape

After further evidence of police wrongdoing came to light as the Bridgewater Three were released pending a full appeal hearing, the familiar voices were heard to say reassuringly, 'It's all in the past; these miscarriages of justice couldn't happen now.' Thus, Home Office minister David Maclean said that police won't be able to fabricate confessions as trials were to be held into video-recording police interviews with suspects. He failed to mention that two-year trials have already been held and that the Home Office has blocked the recommendation of routine video-recording, citing cost considerations.

The appeal court released the Bridgewater Three after ESDA tests indicated police fabrication of a confession. ESDA testing uncovered fabricated evidence in other famous cases including that of Winston Silcott and Judith Ward. But the steps that have been taken, by police and by parliament, will ensure, not that fabrication doesn't occur again, but that it will be even less detectable. The ESDA test works on the principle that a pen marks not only the page written on but the one underneath (by the pressure of the pen); thus by analysing the indentations on the next page, it is possible to see if a page has been omitted or replaced. First police reaction to ESDA testing was to suggest the use of stiff plastic sheets between the pages of police surveillance logs, to make ESDA testing impossible. The public outcry which greeted this suggestion ensured that it was not widely taken up, but the word went round the police that felt-tip pens leave no indentations and thus defeat ESDA testing.

Proving police misconduct and fabrication of evidence depends on the continuing availability, many years on, of all original police notebooks, custody records, detention logs, etc. It is only with all these documents that discrepancies and lies can be exposed. But under the new Criminal Procedure and Investigations Act, police will be able to destroy notebooks after as little as three years, thus wiping out evidence of police wrongdoing and preventing the discovery of false confessions.

And the new official body set up to investigate and correct miscarriages of justice, the Criminal Cases Review Commission, stands accused of having no teeth, relying on police to carry out the investigations (as the Home Office does now) and being composed 'almost entirely by people who have never exhibited the slightest curiosity about the official version of events in their entire lives', according to a disappointed campaigner for the Birmingham Six, Chris Mullin MP. A member of the Home Affairs Select Committee could not understand why none of the commission members had 'any background in the criminal justice system or miscarriages of justice'. ■

Sean Hurl

One of the M25 Three has gone on hunger strike. Raphael Rowe, who has waited for four years to hear if his life sentence and wrongful conviction can be referred to the Court of Appeal, had been promised by the Home Office a speedy decision. But the case has been passed on to the Criminal Cases Review Commission, so more delay is expected, as the new body will probably start examining cases again from scratch, thus slowing down the appeal process still further. ■

Surveys with attitude

Race research is rarely neutral. Over the last 20 years CARF has exposed the dangers of police crime statistics, the limitations of ethnic studies and the distortions from the New Right. In this issue it examines what is wrong with attitude surveys.

'RACE RELATIONS = RACISM
BRITAIN'S ONLY GROWTH INDUSTRY
THE 3 R's OF 'ETHNIC' STUDIES – RACISM RESEARCH & REPRESSION
BLACK HEALTH WORKERS-PATIENTS GROUP

When the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) published its race attitudes survey in February, the media was all agog. Here was something new, 'in-depth', 'ground-breaking' about racism, we were told. Nothing like it had been done for 30 years.

Perhaps the reason for the long gap was because the last major survey by the Institute of Race Relations, in 1969, was later disowned by its staff, on the basis that prejudices, feelings cannot be quantified by a superficial poll, that respondents do not always answer truthfully and that the phrasing of the questions helps to evoke the emotions which frame the answers. More to the point, most academics and activists accepted the IRR's subsequent distinction between racialism and racism. 'Testing' attitudes and prejudices is not the same thing as measuring racism. Racism involves the power to act in a discriminatory way. Prejudice is about ideas and stereotypes.

A racial starting point

The IPPR survey attracted attention for suggesting that Asians (and other ethnic minorities) were themselves prejudiced. This seemed to give comfort to the white population, as it managed to deflect attention from racism. But no one questioned why the survey had itself started from a racial premise – dividing respondents up by ethnic group, thereby implying that ethnicity determines attitudes. We might ask, for example, who are 'Asians'? Don't class, origins or history have an influence on attitudes? Don't the Tamils who fled Sri Lanka in the last few years have a different attitude to refugee rights (a question in the survey) from those who left the country 40 years ago, or from second-generation British Punjabis brought up in Bradford? If Asian-ness is a valid starting point, then is it being said that attitudes are genetically constructed? And what do attitudes of one ethnic group to another tell us in a vacuum, unrelated to the histories that created them and the conditions in which they operate today?

Market research not policy research

Though it passes itself off as scientific and serious, the report, comprising a 'quantitative survey' from National Opinion Poll and a 'qualitative survey' from Opinion Leader Research, is glorified market research in two senses. First, the NOP survey, which has questions about prejudice, also asks about attitudes to policy on immigration, refugees, illegal immigrants and protective race legislation – which suggests (since IPPR is regarded as the think-tank of the Labour Party) that Labour or its supporters are perhaps working out whether, where and with whom to make race an issue in the run-up to the election. Second, the work by OLR, billed as 'the first-ever in-depth *qualitative* survey into attitudes to minorities', employs a methodology of 'focus groups' and 'paired depths' which belongs in the world of advertising, not social research.

Methodologically flawed

Any teenage sociology student could pull the methodology of both pieces of research apart. NOP divides respondents into four groups: Whites, Asians, African-Caribbeans and Jews. But this is cross-classification, since the majority of Britain's Jews are also white. It compares results across ethnicities despite completely different interviewing methods – whites by phone, others face to face in their homes. The OLR's 'in-depth' work seems to consist of people sitting down and talking about racial ideas, with the resulting quotes about as educative as an episode of *Till Death Us Do Part*. And the types OLR comes up with – 'the die-hards', 'the I'm not racist buts', 'the comfortable liberals' and 'the young optimists' – are completely subjective.

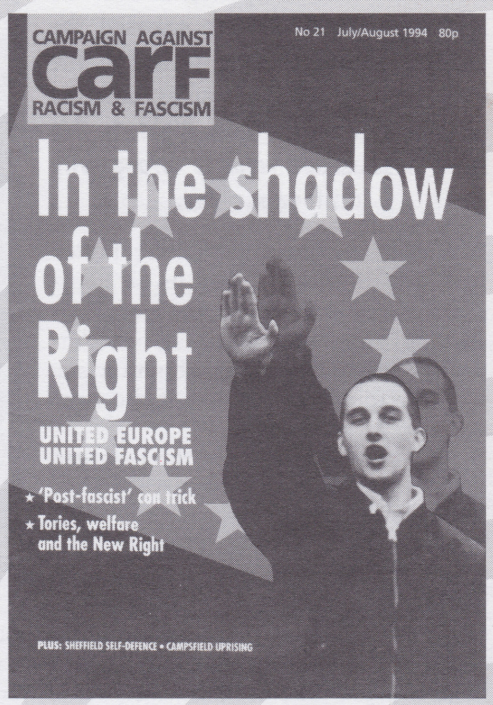
Ambiguity in findings

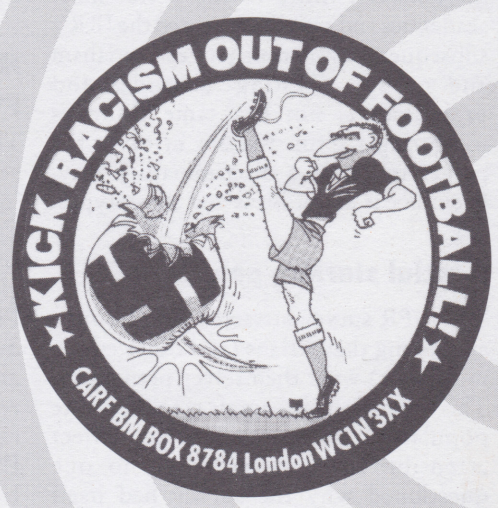
IPPR's 'highly significant' survey results are in fact ambiguous, because of the way questions are phrased. For example, 'only 6% of white people questioned thought there was no racial prejudice in the UK', we are told. Does this mean that most people are terribly sensitive, caring so much about blacks they are keen to every slight? Or that they are racists who want their world to be full of prejudices?

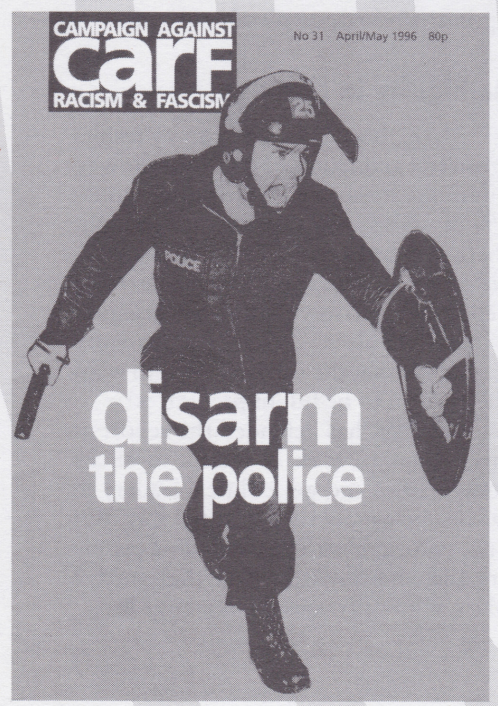
The IPPR has defended the report as an attempt to look at racism in all its complexities and get political leaders to tackle it in a more sophisticated way. But once you establish how prejudiced people are, and who they are, what is the remedy? Mass, ethnically-specific therapy? ■

20 Y

Racism, the breeding ground for fascism.







Challenging state oppression, racist legislation and police brutality.

EARS

CAMPAIGN AGAINST RACISM & FASCISM

No.1 february/march 1991
50p

Tackling new forms of racism as they emerge.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST RACISM & FASCISM

No 23 November 1994 / January 1995
80p

the return of scientific racism

Alert!

new wave of anti-arab racism

BUILDING UNITY

GHETTO QUESTIONS

CARF

CAMPAIGN AGAINST RACISM AND FASCISM

15p

Issue Number 7 1978

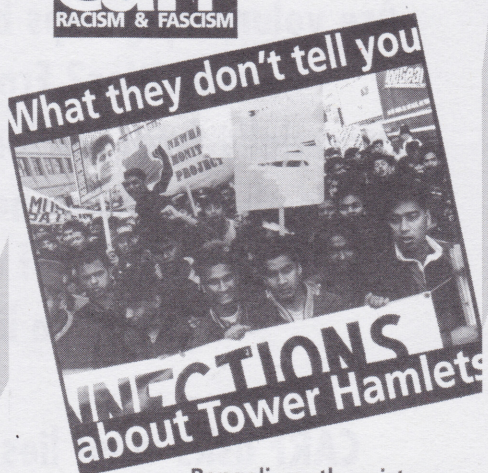
Victims of racist attacks and judicial bias

FREE THE VIRK BROTHERS

Virk Brothers 1977; Tower Hamlets 9 1993 – fighting for the right to self-defence.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST RACISM & FASCISM

No 17 November/December 1993 80p



- Bengali youth resistance
- How parties play for the racist vote

Who gets housed • The fascist menace

What's happening in the voluntary sector?

Are voluntary groups being silenced by their local authorities? From all over the country, but especially from London boroughs, we are getting reports about funding being removed from projects and all kinds of conditions imposed on local groups to limit what they can say and stymie what they can do. CARF asks what lies behind this trend and how black groups are being affected.

Councils own local projects

It is clear from discussions with voluntary sector workers that, although there have always been problems about 'biting the hand that feeds', an entirely different relationship is developing. One worker described it baldly: 'Councils feel they own local projects.' And they 'own' because they contract. Gone are the days when grants were given on the basis of worthy causes and committed groups. Today all local authorities (of whatever political hue) are entering into legal arrangements. These agreements spell out what you can and cannot do. Councils are, for example, trying to prevent law centres from giving advice to community groups or campaigns, or even from taking up an individual's case when it is against the authority. Groups which provide welfare services are being told that they cannot use their own cases (however disguised to protect client confidentiality) in any campaigning they wish to do.

What the agreements tell the voluntary group they can do is to contract to provide a particular service at a certain price. For example, if you are a local community law centre you contract with the local authority to provide legal services and you sign a 'service level agreement'. This might say what particular expertise you provide, how many people you will see in any one year, how many minutes you can give to each one.

The impact of Community Care

The NHS and Community Care Act 1990, under which local authorities ceased to be the sole providers of care, has had a devastating impact on voluntary groups. For the Act which vaunted 'wider consumer choice' and encouragement of 'independent services', made sure that all local authorities would bow to market forces and contract out to any organisation, whether in the private or voluntary sector, for the care of the mentally sick, aged and chronically ill. This meant not merely that grants gave way to constraining legal contracts which separated care and advocacy, case-work from campaigning, but also that voluntary groups, and particularly black groups, had to change the way they worked. In some cases the only way of getting funds was to change priorities. OK, we may be a community advice centre, but we'll prepare some meals on wheels if that's the way to be funded.

The black concept of care

But the overall impact was more profound. The whole concept of community care meant provision of very specific services, eg, housing accommodation, food, health care, to very specific groups in need eg, mentally sick, ethnic elderly, young alcohol abusers. Care was broken down and segmented. But the concept of 'care' in the black community, which had guided many black projects from their inception, was the exact opposite.

For most black organisations, care means holistic and flexible care. Black organisations cannot compartmentalise their work and address one specific need when racism and poverty are creating a multitude of problems at once. And black organisations were supported in their community precisely because they went beyond any official remit – combining campaigning and advocacy with case-work as the fight against racism demands.

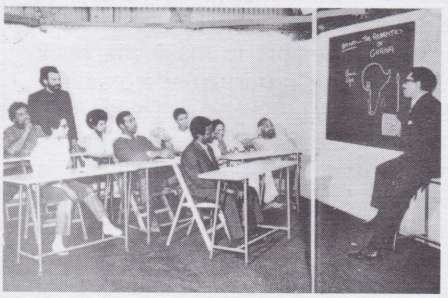
Community meant closing ranks

The communities that black organisations worked in, and for, were organic: they grew out of and were nourished by a common resistance to racism. If young boys were attacked by fascists or the police, you would find everyone – whatever age, gender, 'ethnicity', disability – in a march for justice. Issues around housing, employment, education, health, policing, poverty and racism were all contingent on one another. Community meant closing ranks. Community meant turning an individual local case, say the murder of Stephen Lawrence, into a national issue of injustice.

Weakening community base

And it is that concept of a political community of resistance which is being destroyed. On the one hand local authorities have instigated their own programmes to 'manage' aspects of racism which lend themselves to institutional remedy, eg, racial harassment in housing. On the other hand, community organisations are losing their base as each sectional problem is siphoned off by local authorities and allocated as a contract concern to this group or that. The result is that those voluntary sector groups which remain outside the new set-up inevitably find themselves working around the most intractable (and politically sensitive) of community issues – while those within are forced to work in an ever-narrowing area, reducing issues to case-work instead of developing cases into issues.

During the 1960s and '70s, black projects – advice centres, supplementary schools, social and welfare agencies – grew out of community politics. But now, most black projects see themselves as part of the Black Voluntary Sector.



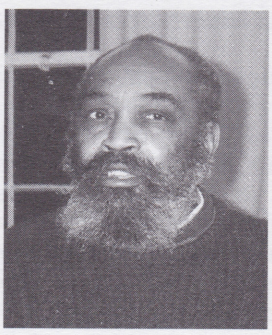
The Black Voluntary Sector

And where can they look for support? Historically, black projects grew out of community politics (originally attached to black power parties). During the 1960s and 1970s black projects militantly defended their belief in community control and self-help. Today the picture is radically different. Most black projects see themselves as part of the *Black Voluntary Sector* – something which emulates the White Voluntary Sector. If you look at the documents, reports and newsletters coming from the Black Voluntary Sector, you do not read about raw racism which affects the most vulnerable among the black communities or even about campaigning. You read the same language of the marketplace which impregnates the White Voluntary Sector. It is about 'good practice', 'partnerships', 'service provision', going for 'consultations' and, above all, 'lobbying for resources'.

This depoliticisation has not gone unremarked. Delivering the Martin Luther King annual lecture to honour a pioneer of black self-help, a year ago, Bishop Wilfred Wood gave a scathing critique: 'Today, all those battles for self-help carried forward by people like Brother Herman have lost their way and become undermined. In place of black self-help, we now have a whole professionalised black voluntary sector which apes the white statutory services and sets up career structures for black caring. Gone are the ideas of commitment to the community, totality of caring, the need to change a society even as you serve the victims. And black people, instead of returning their education to the community that gave it to them, as Nyerere taught us, have begun to feather their own nests.'

Making a choice

There is a real polarisation going on today for community projects. They are effectively being told that they can no longer take their funds from the local authority and their remit from the community. Put another way, they are having to decide whether to throw in their lot with a political-community agenda or with a voluntary sector which is becoming indistinguishable from the statutory sector, which in fact aids and abets the statutory sector. If they choose the former it means returning to first principles: 'Self-help', said Bishop Wood, 'means *self-reliance* for a community. And, to achieve that, black people must return their skills to the community, learn not to be distracted by monies that come with strings, create our own opportunities without relying on outside agencies to provide them. Self-help is not the same as group selfishness. Genuine self-help will create *genuine unity* within a community.' ■



Brother Herman Edwards – a pioneer of self-help

CAMPAIGNS AND REPORTS

Scientific racism quarantined

Student campaigners in Edinburgh and Madrid have succeeded in isolating the scientific racists in academia

When students at Edinburgh University boycotted lectures by psychology lecturer Christopher Brand, they were attacked in some quarters for denying freedom of speech. Brand, who stated publicly that he was 'perfectly proud to be a racist in the scientific sense', argued that black people and single mothers carry the burden of genetic inferiority and lower IQs, and that the solution can be found in a 'mild eugenics'.

Unreconstructed racists

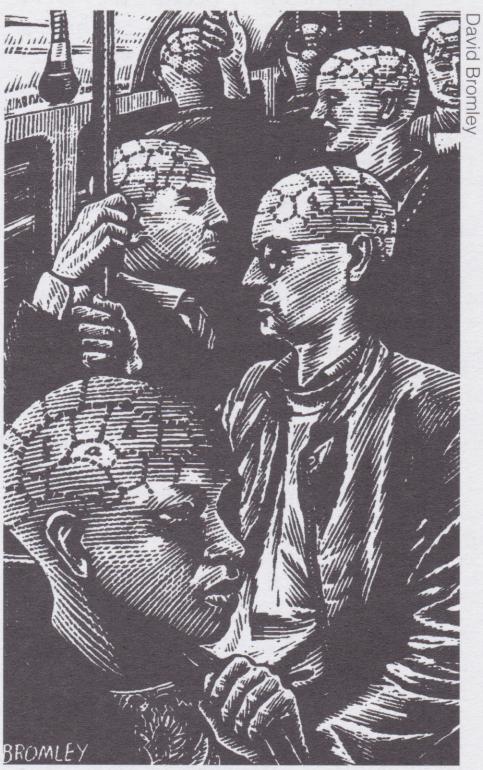
While students boycotted his lectures, Brand's publisher withdrew a forthcoming book and Lothians and Border police dropped him as a consultant psychologist, university authorities stood by him, even appointing him to an ethics committee to assess the ethics of student research projects. Brand returned the favour by embarrassing the authorities still further with the publication of an article on the internet which argued that paedophile sex is harmless (he deemed sex between adults and boys as young as twelve acceptable). Brand was immediately suspended and an inquiry launched by red-faced officials. A statement to the effect that they were 'deeply concerned about his remarks', begs the question as to why they weren't equally worried by Brand's support for scientific racism.

The authorities at Madrid's Complutensian University were not so slow to act after students boycotted the classesof Guillermo Quintana, the head of the psychology department. In his book *Psychology of the Personality and its Disorder*, the professor outlined a 19th-century style race-typology, dividing races into the white race (characterised by higher intelligence, capacity for intellectual, scientific and artistic activity), the black race (primitive and inferior to white in terms of intellectual capacities but superior in physical endurance and motor skills, etc) and the yellow race (slow, lazy, deficient in imagination and invention but skilled in assimilation, imitation, repetition and falsification). Quintana's views on women (weak, unstable creatures who love shopping, beauty contests and love stories) were equally reactionary.

Students at the university – angered at Quintana's attempts to make the book compulsory reading for his undergraduate class (at a lower price if bought direct from him) – were quick to publicise the book's contents and call for the professor's resignation. 'We want to alert other students because as future teachers we cannot tolerate abuse of this kind. We are indignant about the position and ideas of an unreconstructed racist like this professor,' said student campaigner José Jimeno. Quintana resigned following the intervention of the University's rector and the Spanish Ombudsman. The rector has promised that, in future, the most extreme precautions will be taken with regard to control over books published under the university's imprint.

Eugenics today

While Quintana appears to be something of a loose cannon (the Madrid College of Psychologists disowned him), Brand is a member of the Galton Institute, the successor to the Eugenics Society (named after the founder and inventor of the term, the English scientist Sir Francis Galton) which today funds birth control programmes



David Bromley

Out of touch with groups in Europe campaigning on similar issues? With this regular column, CARF aims to keep anti-racists in touch with some of the most important initiatives.

IN TOUCH WITH EUROPE

Refugee hunger-strikes: Tamil asylum-seekers staged hunger strikes in Denmark in protest at the high-profile deportation of Tamils. In the Netherlands the year started with a hunger strike of asylum-seekers at the new detention centre in Tilburg.

Refugee support groups: Anti-racists are campaigning against new government guidelines which limit the help associations can give asylum-seekers at France's 100 international waiting zones. A support group has been set up at Hungary's Nagyatad refugee camp where 2,000 refugees are held, mostly from the former Yugoslavia.

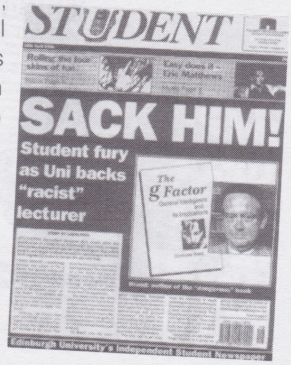
Anti-deportation campaigns: In the Netherlands, a support group has been formed for Bahman Mouri Sadarabi, an Iranian socialist threatened with deportation. In Italy *Tribunale dell immigrato* are protesting the treatment of a leading Tunisian intellectual, due to attend a conference in Milan, but deported immediately on arrival on national security grounds.

Criminalisation: Anti-racists in Frankfurt, Germany, face charges of formation of a terrorist association after 200 riot police raided a public meeting on state racism.

Health: URMED Solidaire's campaign in France to end deportations of HIV/Aids sufferers and gravely ill people is stepping up a gear. Norway's Anti-Racist Centre takes up the case of women in labour ill-treated at Oslo hospital.

Anti-fascism: Following the FN's capture of Vitrolles, Ras le Front (Fed up with the Front) has been formed by hundreds of local north African youths. Publishers will boycott the annual international book fair in Toulon after the town's FN mayor overuled a panellist's decision to honour Jewish writer Marek Halter. Anti-fascists in Stockholm forced the closure of Sweden's last neo-nazi record store and the National Alliance has quit its headquarters after months of anti-fascist activity. ■

in the Third World. Another psychology professor who has received wider backing (from the New York Pioneer Foundation) is Richard Lynn. Praeger has just published *Dysgenics: Genetic Deterioration of Modern Populations*, in which Lynn argues that society is being threatened by a degenerate underclass which is outbreeding intelligent people. Measures should be taken to correct the breakdown in natural selection, argues Lynn, who also believes that young children should be caned, criminals flogged, and that criminal behaviour is passed down from father to son. Is bigotry inherited and will Lynn pass it down to his son? Or should we just give him a good caning instead? ■


STUDENT

SACK HIM!

Student fury as Uni backs "racist" lecturer

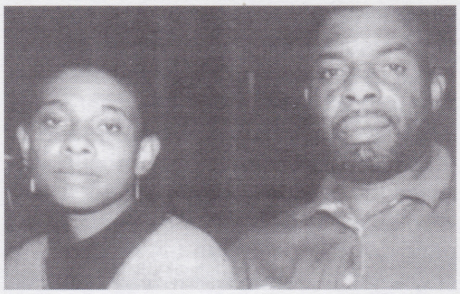
The g Factor

Edinburgh University's Independent Student Newspaper

Lawrence campaign update

The family of Stephen Lawrence continue to make legal history in their quest for justice. Publicity came from an unexpected quarter on 15 February. The *Daily Mail*, under the headline 'murderers', named five men in connection with the racist killing. The paper took the unprecedented step of naming the unconvicted men (three of whom had already had charges dropped against them) after they made mock of the legal system by refusing to answer any questions at the inquest into Stephen's death.

The minute that the *Mail* took its stand, Britain's legal establishment, which had been mute as the police, CPS and judges failed over four years to bring the racist killers to justice, was sent into paroxysms of outrage. This was trial by media. The establishment was concerned that the white youths could not afford to clear their names and the *Mail*'s action might prejudice any future action by the Lawrence family. But, whatever the *Mail*'s motives in



naming the men, the Lawrences' lawyer welcomed its challenge that the five men sue for libel. He said he welcomed 'whatever procedure gets these five into the witness box to explain their presence or absence from the scene'.

Meanwhile on 26 March the family met with Met police commissioner Paul Condon and demanded a full judicial inquiry into the initial police investigation and the actions of the Crown Prosecution Service in dropping charges. ■

Stop dividing black families

Does Home Office inhumanity know no bounds? Regular readers of CARF will be aware of the long fight waged by Prakash Chavrimootoo with the help of the West Midlands Anti-Deportation Campaign, to stay in Britain with her 14-year-old son Prem. Her case is currently undergoing judicial review. In the meantime, in an attempt to avoid the embarrassment of separating a mother from her child, the Home Office has served a notice of intention to deport on Prem, who has lived in Britain for most of his life. And in Manchester, over 100 friends of 11-year-old Awele and 8-year-old Anwuli Okolo joined a demonstration outside the High Court while lawyers applied for a judicial review of the Home Secretary's intention to deport their mother Florence. Although the immigration adjudicator decided that Florence should be allowed to stay, the Home Office

Okolo family campaign

seem determined to continue with Florence's deportation and, given their record, are likely to attempt to deport Awele and Anwuli too. ■

Write to the Home Office protesting these deportations. Quote reference O120846 for the Okolo family and reference C151128 for Prakash and Prem Chavrimootoo.

Around the European courts

As immigration and asylum decisions in one country increasingly affect campaigners in another, CARF provides a regular round-up of some of the most important legal decisions.

Germany: A regional higher court in Frankfurt has ruled that a foreigner who has been denied asylum but cannot be sent back to his home country immediately may not be detained for months at the airport transit area, but only for a limited time. The case involved an Indian asylum-seeker who had been detained in the Rhein-Main Airport for eight months.

European Court rulings: The European Commission on Human Rights ruled that a Bangladeshi youth, member of the outlawed Buddhist organisation 'Shanti Bahini' cannot be deported from the Netherlands as it would constitute a violation of Article 3 of the Convention which prohibits torture or inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

An AIDS sufferer has challenged his deportation from Britain to the Caribbean on his conviction of drugs offences on the ground that his enforced removal and the consequent unavailability of appropriate treatment will bring about his early death. He awaits a ruling from the European Court on Human Rights on whether the expulsion violates his right to life and to freedom from inhuman and degrading treatment.

List of safe countries grows: Some municipal authorities in Austria say that Afghanistan is safe, despite the onward march of the fundamentalist Taliban army. Denmark says that conditions in the north of Somalia are safe for the return of refugees, and the Netherlands secretary of state has reached an agreement to return Somali refugees in exchange for development aid. The Dutch government has also announced 'positive developments' in the field of Iranian human rights. Germany and Switzerland have signed repatriation agreements with the former Yugoslavia and Bosnia. ■

C18 feud: blood, but not much honour

The far Right in England has long been considered a laughing–stock by its European counterparts who frequently joke about its ability to split over the merest of 'ideological' (read financial) differences. Although the split in Combat 18, and its music offshoot Blood and Honour, was aided by police/MI5 infiltration, it was inevitable anyway, given the input of the gang of crooks that ran the outfit. It was only a matter of time before they would fall out over money; and when thieves fall out...

Martin Cross (former National Front organiser for Barking and Dagenham, and more recently C18's Blood and Honour organiser), was recently arrested on a murder charge. In his NF days Cross had a reputation as a bit of a tosser with an inflated opinion of himself, who was constantly threatening to set up vigilante groups to combat 'muggers'. In reality, his bottle rarely extended beyond posing for the front pages of fascist newspapers in combat fatigues.

It was his involvement in the white power music scene in the late eighties and in particular his association with Skrewdriver, a crap band elevated to mythical status with the death of singer Ian Stuart, that gave Cross some credibility among his fellow nazis. He played with several bands before ending up with Razor's Edge, where he was promoted to organiser for Blood and Honour and editor of its magazine by Charlie Sargent and Wilf Browning. His most memorable contribution to B&H was the expulsion of the band Squadron; Cross ended up with broken wrists but, needless to say, it didn't make a lot of difference to his musical abilities.

His arrest for murder in Harlow, Essex, in February (along with his C18 boss Wilf Browning, from south London, who is on bail charged with burglary), and the temporary detention of local man and former C18 leader, Charlie Sargent, who was released without charge, marks the final chapter in a brief and undistinguished career. The dead man has been named as Christopher Castle, aged 28, from Catford in south London. He died after being stabbed in the chest in what the local press described as 'infighting between factions of the extreme right–wing group Combat 18'.

Coincidentally, C18's three best known personalities, who cannot be named for legal reasons, but will be well known to CARF readers, eventually appeared at the Old Bailey in March on charges of possessing threatening, abusive or insulting material. The men, two of whom come from Essex, the third from south London, were jailed for 17 and 12 months.

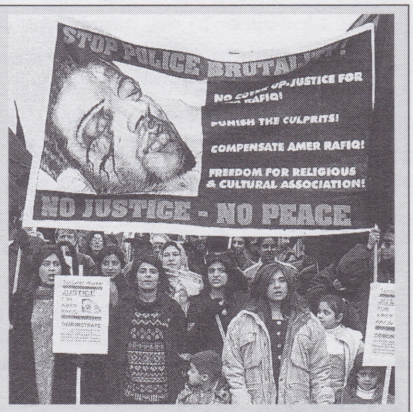
Anti–fascists criticised the shortness of their sentences, given that they were found in possession of bomb-making instructions – not exactly insignificant bearing in mind the letterbombs sent on behalf of one C18 faction from Scandinavia earlier this year. ■

POLICING

Amer Rafiq's fight for justice continues

A crowd of 500 angry people demonstrated outside Manchester's Platt Lane police station in February to mark the first anniversary of the police action that resulted in the loss of Amer Rafiq's right eye.

The anger of Manchester's Asian community shows no signs of abating despite the best efforts of local newspapers to undermine the campaign. The *Manchester Evening News*, in particular, has been used effectively by the police as a vehicle for leaking sensitive information at crucial moments. Days before the latest demonstration, a story appeared implying that the case was settled, the police officers concerned had been disciplined and that the issue was now dead. Nothing could be further from the truth. Although two police officers have been confined to desk duties, there have been reports that they have been seen patrolling the streets. A civil action against the police is pending. Meanwhile the heavy-handed policing on Manchester's Wilmslow Road continues. ■


STOP POLICE BRUTALITY!
NO COVER UP-JUSTICE FOR RAFIQ!
PUNISH THE CULPRITS!
COMPENSATE AMER RAFIQ!
FREEDOM FOR RELIGIOUS & CULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS!
NO JUSTICE - NO PEACE

S O'Neill

Deaths update

Another black man has died in custody. Ronnie Clark, a 38-year-old inmate of Wellingborough prison in Northamptonshire, was found unconscious on 1 March. He died five days later from head injuries without having regained consciousness. His family are angry that they were not told of his critical condition until four hours after he had been admitted to hospital. They are arranging an independent post mortem in order to discover the truth about how he died.

Meanwhile the family of Brian Douglas won an important legal victory on 19 March. The High Court granted them the right to challenge a 9-2 majority inquest verdict that his death was the result of 'misadventure'. The criminalisation and demonisation of those who die at the hands of the police was seen in action when the coroner, Sir Montague Levine, allowed the inquest jury to hear irrelevant information about Douglas's alleged previous criminal convictions. Douglas's family, together with independent pathologists, maintain that Brian's death was a result of blows to the head from police batons, and that a verdict of 'unlawful killing' should have been returned. ■

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Lenton Boulevard, Nottingham

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Asian Dub Foundation,
Permanent Revolution,
Cat (Live Drum & Bass) and
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Inter-union dispute or race dispute?

Has the United Road Transport Union undermined a fight against racism at Ford's?

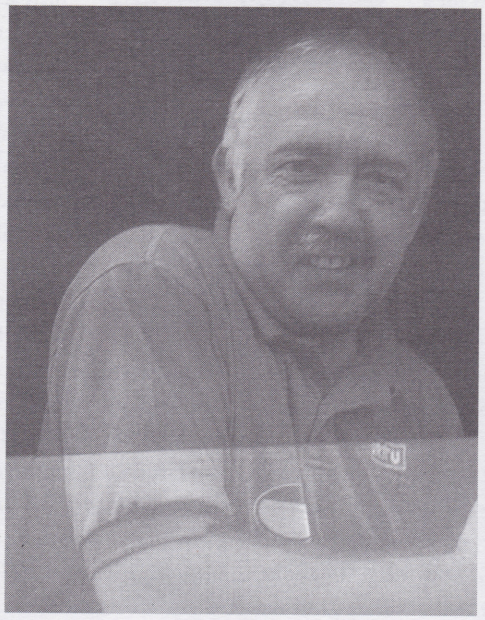
When, in December 1996, seven black assembly-line workers at Ford's, Dagenham received an out-of-court settlement of over £70,000 for racial discrimination, many saw this as the end of a five-year dispute about racial discrimination in recruitment practices to the company's elite truck drivers. But since the industrial tribunal finding, a bitter inter-union dispute has broken out at Ford's, which has been referred to the TUC Disputes Committee. The Transport & General Workers Union (TGWU), which took up the black workers' cause, is ranged on one side. Its adversary is the smaller, newer United Road Transport Union (URTU). Three hundred truck fleet drivers, nearly all white, have voted to dissolve their branch of the TGWU and join URTU.

TGWU backs black workers

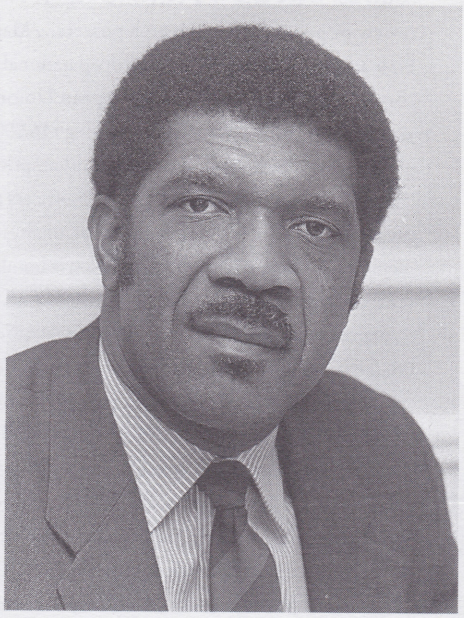
It was back in 1990 that allegations of racist recruitment procedures at Ford's Dagenham first emerged, but it was not until the summer of 1996 that the case of the seven black workers, supported by the TGWU, was heard by an industrial tribunal and the full facts of how black workers had unsuccessfully applied to join the truck fleet first emerged. While 45% of Ford production workers at Dagenham are from ethnic minorities, they hold just 1.8% of the coveted drivers' jobs. Annual pay for truck fleet drivers is about £32,000 – the highest wages earned by manual staff at Ford's and double the pay of shop floor workers.

Nepotism, discrimination, racism

CARF spoke to several TGWU officials who all vehemently deny that there is a significant problem of racism amongst workers at Ford's. The primary issue, according to one official, has been the nepotism inherent in recruitment to the truck-fleet. Until the industrial tribunal ruling, it was controlled by senior truck drivers themselves, who tended to pass jobs down to friends and family. Inevitably, a system that encourages nepotism will lead to discrimination and, as a consequence, racial discrimination. For the TGWU, its quarrel was not with the workers themselves, but with the company, which abdicated its responsibility for recruitment into the truck fleet, making a mockery of its own equal opportunities policy.



David Higginbottom



Bill Morris

URTU breaks union ranks

But while lips are now firmly sealed about URTU's role in the dispute (until the TUC Disputes Committee reports on whether URTU has broken TUC rules by recruiting another union's members), it is not hard to sense a quiet, seething anger in the TGWU. When the TGWU first took up the black workers' cause, the truck fleet drivers tried to join the GMB and the engineering union (a total of five unions represent Ford's 6,800 workforce), but were rebuffed. Rumours are rife that it was the Ford management itself which sought to break down TGWU strength by encouraging the drivers to join URTU, a union which is not officially recognised at Ford's. When TGWU leader Bill Morris described URTU as a 'compliant management union' and 'compromising with racism', a leading URTU official threatened libel action and described Bill Morris as a 'johnny come lately'.

Labour divisions, race hierarchies

There are important issues at stake at Ford's, both for anti-racists and the trade union movement. URTU, formed in 1992, only affiliated to the TUC a couple of years ago (its application to the Scottish TUC has still not been accepted) and has an estimated membership of 15,000. If the TUC rules that URTU has not broken TUC rules by accepting the former TGWU members, the smaller union will have succeeded in breaking down labour unity at Dagenham by creaming off one of the most powerful groups of manual workers into its union, thereby removing its support for the causes of lower-paid, semi-skilled workers, who also happen to be, by and large, black. No one is suggesting that the Ford's truck drivers have an easy job. But, with the prompt delivery of components in and between factories in Britain and abroad becoming more vital as the just-in-time principle of production has reduced the number of components kept at each site, the truck drivers have increasing clout – and management knows it. Truck drivers have the power to bring Ford's finely calibrated production system to a standstill.

Labour divisions between skilled workers, relatively well paid manual workers and a low-paid semi-skilled workforce at Ford are, by and large, race divisions. Labour hierarchies are also race hierarchies. The TGWU, which represents the majority of Ford's semi-skilled black workforce, had sought to challenge labour hierarchies through supporting the black workers in their legal challenge. No other union was prepared to break ranks with the TGWU until URTU moved in. Intentionally or not, URTU has undermined a fight against racism. ■

1997

CALENDAR OF RACE AND RESISTANCE

FEB 9 London Borough of Hounslow says it will extend the Kick Racism out of Football Campaign to amateur games in parks **FEB 10** Mother of Stephen Lawrence, murdered in racist attack in south London four years ago, tells inquest that racist judicial system failed her son **FEB 11** NACRO report calls for a review of police stop and search powers... Major and Blair agree that Britain will never drop national border controls as requested by the European Union... 25-year-old Raymond Delves denies causing £16,000 worth of damage in racist arson attack on Southamption Race Equality Council offices **FEB 12** MI5 officers provide protection, including armed response units, for C18 members after internal feud results in letter bombs being sent to nazi activists... police constable Lawrence Ramadas was victim of racial discrimination, rules Glasgow industrial tribunal... Survey carried out by Scottish Homes says ethnic minority house hunters are more likely to end up in poorer housing than whites, and many suffer racial abuse **FEB 13** Inquest jury declares that Stephen Lawrence was stabbed to death in 'a completely unprovoked racist attack by five white youths'... Asylum-seekers say that they will sue Westminster council over the nutritional quality of the cup-a-soup meals they receive... Jewish cemetery desecrated in Grimsby **FEB 14** British Medical Journal says detention of asylum-seekers is causing great and unnecessary human suffering... European Parliament begins investigation into feasibility of censoring nazi and pornographic material on the internet **FEB 15** Bill to stop foreign dissidents in Britain supporting political violence against their own governments, is defeated **FEB 20** Families on Islington's Packington estate who gave evidence against racist attackers are rehoused after receiving threats and abuse... Bishop of Oxford says detention of asylum-seekers is 'morally repugnant' **FEB 21** Britain is turning into a nation of Muslim-haters, warns Runnymede Trust report... Two immigration detainees taking part in hunger strike at Rochester prison become seriously ill, one suffering 50 per cent paralysis, the other kidney failure... Court of Appeal places £50,000 ceiling on damages awards to victims of police brutality **FEB 22** 71-year-old Jewish Holocaust survivor tells launch meeting of European Year Against Racism that she still encounters racial harassment in her Leeds home... Ice hockey match in Hull abandoned 13 minutes when it turned into mass brawl after racist remarks among players **FEB 23** Report on racism in Lancashire schools reveals that Blackburn and Hyndburn suffer the highest level of playground racism **FEB 25** Rochester hunger striker admitted to hospital after being released with an £8 travel warrant, £2 cash and told to fend for himself... European Court of Human Rights refuses to overturn conviction of David Gregory despite judge's failure to act against racism of jury members **FEB 26** Fellow Tory councillors in Tendring, East Anglia demand resignation of Philip Vanner for his claim that there would be 'blood on the beaches' if ethnic minorities were encouraged to holiday in the area... two Thames Valley police officers ordered to resign after shouting racist abuse from their patrol car at a black passer-by **FEB 27** Home Secretary Michael Howard backs the abolition of the right to jury trial for theft and assault... Ravi Sandher of Preston says he is the victim of racism after the second attack on his Fleetwood shop **MAR 1** Vanessa Redgrave and Anna Ford warned to be on guard after receiving threats from Combat 18 **MAR 2** Labour party pledges that it will ease immigration rules including the primary purpose rule and section 8 of the 1996 Asylum and Immigration Act which requires employers to carry out immigration checks on employees... Combat 18 involvement is suspected in brutal attack on Asian football fan by Sunderland fans at Blackburn railway station **MAR 3** Bernie Grant MP calls for an apology for Britain's involvement in the slave trade after a mass grave of former slaves is unearthed on a Devon beach **MAR 4** Tory MP David Evans causes uproar by speaking his mind to sixth-formers, referring to a 'black bastard' and claiming that the Birmingham 6 and Bridgewater 3 were guilty **MAR 12** Spate of racist graffiti and attacks on radical bookshops sparks fears that C18 are again targeting Newcastle **MAR 13** Judge William Crawford forced to issue apology after using term 'niggers' while hearing case at Newcastle Crown Court **MAR 14** Labour says it will abolish the Commission for Racial Equality and the Equal Opportunities Commission and set up one human rights body to police civil liberties... Indian asylum-seeker who survived 10-hour flight in aeroplane wheel bay at minus 60°C is given one month reprieve while medical reports are studied... Job Centres are slammed after refusing to accept advert from Asian restaurateur which specifies that applicants must be anti-racist **MAR 15** Eight man fire crew in Eltham, south London, face sack after station is daubed with racist slogans before the visit of a black officer... Goalkeeper Bruce Grobellaar reports one of his own fans to police, claiming he shouted racist abuse at opposing black players **MAR 16** Viking, publisher of new edition of Anne Frank's diary, warns bookshops to be vigilant after Holocaust denial literature is sent to them and threats are made... Southend council begin moves to evict Valerie Lamb after she is convicted of writing racist slogans on home of Asian family **MAR 19** High Court rules that family of Brian Douglas may challenge inquest verdict of misadventure **MAR 20** Ingrained racism in the armed forces is not being tackled because of complacency in senior ranks, says report from Office of Public Management **MAR 21** West Midlands Tory MPs, led by Nicholas Budgen, say they will turn make immigration an election issue because it has turned the British into 'strangers in their own land' **MAR 23** 12-year-old Kenyan boy killed by retracting wheels of jumbo jet during stowaway attempt on Nairobi to Gatwick flight.

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Please return to: CARF, BM Box 8784 London WC1N 3XX.